1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

301 classes of women wear, besides, a profusion of necklaces, made of cornelian, turquoises, or amber, and they have also massive ornaments of silver and brass, studded with
293 turquoises. Both men and women wear in their waist-cloths or girdles a *Chakmak* (or leather case ornamented with brass, containing flint, steel, and tinder), and the men, besides, usually carry a knife or dagger in their girdles. The women likewise carry a brass spoon, a convex brass mirror, and a case of coarse needles attached to their girdles; to these may be added a small metal or wooden cup or quaigh, a single or double flageolet, a metal spoon, and plate, all of which are stuffed into the slackened breast of the dress, next the skin, along with a ball of wool, a coil of rope, and a few unleavened wheaten or barley cakes.

V.—FOOD.

262 The food of the common people usually consists of
565 thick barley cakes, or of barley-meal moistened with water, with a broth of turnips, either fresh or dried, according to the season, to which are added a few peas, and a seasoning of salt and pepper. Meat is seldom tasted by the poorer classes excepting upon occasions of
272 rejoicing, at a birth or marriage. Tea is now, I believe,
565 coming into common use, although I never myself saw any of the labourers drinking it. Amongst the upper classes tea is drunk two or three times a day. It is made in a strong decoction with soda, then seasoned with salt and churned with butter, until it acquires the colour and consistency of thick rich cocoa or chocolate.
264 Wheaten cakes are eaten with it in the morning, either plain or with butter and sugar. The same meal is

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that may be in season,—apples, grapes, and apricots, or with the last dried. In the evening they usually have rice, and a broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for since the occupation of the country by the Hindu Dogras, Yak's flesh is no longer to be had in Northern Ladák. Even in the British district of Spiti, the Yak is now a sacred animal, as our Government have made over the district to the Hindu raja of Bisahar.

All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better than their own indigenous *Chang*. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained, something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour.

VI.—SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

The most remarkable social institution of the Botis is the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two, but three and even four husbands are not uncommon. This system prevails of course only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all eastern countries, generally have two or three wives, according to their circumstances. Polyandry is the principal check to the increase of population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor country which does not produce sufficient food for its inhabitants.

[12]

414 BOLT--sHing kutik (lit. wood lock) Iron bolts are unknown to Ladákis.

291 BOOT--kapSHa the ordinary general term for a boot or shoe. The
195 respectful term is zhapSHa. There are separate names for different kinds of boots thus: "boot" means an English pattern boot "paboo" is the loose felt ankle boot of Ladák. "peypak" is the long felt jack boot of Yarkhand; "kapSHa" is the ordinary shoe of Hindustan; "móza" is the long leather jack boot of Yarkhand; "soklam" is the cloth jack boot of Lhása and China, it is worn by lamas. "cháruk" these much prized boots come from Yarkhand, they are made of sheepskin or lambskin, the wool being left on, and worn inside. They are sometimes short, and sometimes come up to the knee.

554 [13] BOW TO--go kuk ches (to bow the head) joo cho ches (the
576 ordinary bow of salutation) sa kaney joo cho ches (the respectful bow of an inferior to a superior made by lowering one hand to the ground and then bringing it up to the forehead, which is lowered).
chhakphul táng ches (to join the palms of the hands before the breast as in an attitude of prayer, and to bow with the utmost humility, as in the presence of a king or deity).

262 BREAD--tagee is the ordinary term for the chupati of the country, or any other kind of baked or roasted bread, chhooSHul is the term applied to the uncooked dough Ladakis eat, when on a journey, or whenever they can not cook their food. It is made by mixing water into "satoo" which is the flour of beardless barley.

● 264 BREAKFAST--chheenan, (the small early breakfast, taken at dawn); tsáma or tsálma (the ordinary breakfast, taken about 8 or 10 o'clock).

291 BREECHES--patloon (of European pattern) Ladákis of both sexes invariably wear these under garments made of coarse patoo. The men's breeches are called "SHághos" meaning "flesh cover" or "kánghnam" meaning "leg patoo" they are cut the length of the wearer's leg and are loose from the

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or chang-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the chang-khee is the Changthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhasa; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-thang (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo; with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

meat if possible; (4) zára or dzára taken about 2 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea or milk, (5) GHonzan taken at evening time, consisting of satoo, tea or milk, with meat and vegetables if possible. 264 262

The poor people eat only chheenan zára and GHonzan.

MEASURE--tap-ches (a foot rule or other measure). 804

An account of the lineal measures in use in Ladák has already been given under the heading "Lineal Measure." For ordinary dry goods, the Indian system of weighing by seers and maunds is used, and sometimes the Kashmiri weights, called "Kacha" weights, are used, thus the following table may be drawn up:--

1 Chittak	(Indian)	=	2 ounces.
1 Seer	(Kashmiri)	=	12 2/3 ounces.
1 Seer	(Indian)	=	2 pounds.
1 Batti	(Kashmiri)	=	4 "
1 Maund	(Kashmiri)	=	32 "
1 "	(Indian)	=	80 "

The lower classes are not generally familiar with the "Chittak," they guess at any weight less than a seer. [565]

Salt and rice and all other grains not grown in Ladák, are weighed by the above measures, but for grains grown in Ladák, the following is the system of measurement. The units of measurement are the khal, the bo or bho, and the trey or brey, or (in composition) drey.

In ordinary use there are three kinds of each of the above measures, viz., the sär-khal, the yool-khal and the phokskhal the sär-bo the yool-bo and the phoks-bo also the sär-drey, the yool-drey, and the phoks-drey. Consequently if a man speaks of any of these three measures, he must be asked which of them it is to which he refers.

There are also two other measures, the one called "pundrey" and the other "ongsdrey."

The "pundrey" is the measure used in monasteries for measuring grain paid back, as interest, on grain borrowed from the monastery. I am told it is a rather large "brey" measure.

The "ongsdrey" is used only at harvest time, for measuring, or dividing, the cleaned grain crop. I am told it is only an ordinary "brey" measure heaped up. Neither of these are of any consequence as they are not in general use, but the followi g

241 by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women
462 together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children.
294 Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather.
282 The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's
283 or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

262 As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After
● 264 they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ŋam-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast
[82] is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoṅ-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

again have flour porridge on this occasion. Affluent families can afford a meal of rice with meat and vegetables (mostly vegetables growing wild or white beets), with a spiced sauce (curry), or noodles (rgya-t'ug, that is, "Chinese soup"); or drim-t'ug, a soup with little rolls of dough, often also with meat and vegetables; dumpling soup and many other kinds of soup. A kind of dumplings made of spiced minced meat in a covering of dough (mog-mog) are also very popular. As beverage they have beer or butter tea, but rarely, and only among the rich, is there home-brewed rice brandy

Sometimes another intermediate meal, bar-ma (meaning, "the middle one"), is inserted between the breakfast and the midday meal, if circumstances seem to require it. Poor people confine themselves frequently to two, yes, even to just one very scanty meal per day.

/122/ Building a House.

After the third child had come into the world with the birth of their little son, Namgyal, who had now taken over the management of the farm, decided to build a new house onto the old house, since the space had gradually become too cramped for the growing family. The old grandmother Tsering Putrid who with advancing age became increasingly strict in the observation of all formalities, was the first to insist that in this enterprise the old astrologist and devil-tamer Dorje Dud-joms should be consulted, as well as the father. Above all the right moment to begin the building of the house had to be determined

After long calculations and counting on his fingers and with little stones, the advice finally came from the soothsayer: The building is to be started after the working of the fields on the third day of the fifth month, a Thursday (Jupiter's day). The second, eighth, fourteenth, twentieth, and twenty-sixth of this month are evil days, the third is good unless a particularly evil omen, such as the arrival of an evil spirit at the place or something of that nature, should appear. The "day of the planet sun" (Sunday) and the day of the "red," wrathful Mars (Tuesday) are both "angry days" and must be anxiously avoided in the beginning of any important undertaking. In any case, they must count upon the hostile opposition of the earth and water deities, the sabdag, the klu, and the gnyan, who have their being in the depths of the earth, and of the water under the great old earth mother (Khon-ma). In order to break the resistance of these powerful forces Namgyal

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

564 Chapter III, C. — Tribes and Castes and Leading Families. Caste in Spiti.

565 184 [171]

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

564 565 582 264

"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zobo, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *kaddi*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

564 264

"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

564

The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Cháhzangs. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánaskár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *monás* or *mompa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Cháhzangs are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bethus correspond with the Hensis

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *mompa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mons, a (Dravidian ?) tribe who once held these hills.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

lapping, the warmer the dress. Our chief meals are completed with a hot beverage, such as coffee, but they begin as well as end theirs with their butter-tea. Even the teeth of the carpenter's saw are sloped in the wrong direction compared with ours. If we listen to the cow, we note that she descends the scale as she moos, whereas our western cows moo from below upwards.

With us the protrusion of the tongue is a sign of contempt and derision, and is certainly not regarded as a sign of good breeding! With the Tibetan it is a very polite form of greeting, and its involuntary production often occurs from embarrassment or astonishment. In the west we wait for admittance at the door of the house. In Ladak, the house is penetrated until the desired one is found. When the "Doctor Sahib" was ill in bed not long after our arrival in Ladak, and while we were still learning many new things, the door between his bedroom and the dining-room suddenly opened to admit a not over-cleanly looking individual, with a loudly squawking and protesting cock under his arm, a token of gratitude for the "Doctor Sahib" from one of his patients, but the "Mem Sahib" would have preferred to receive it on his behalf further from the sensitive radius of a badly aching head. When our little girl donned a lamb-skin coat with the white fur outside, it was considered to be a most inside-out proceeding, while in Ladak hats are worn indoors as well as out-of-doors by both sexes. Even their treatment of nature seems to be the wrong way round, for they pray for sun to relieve a drought; but we have only to remember that the water supply and irrigation of the fields are entirely dependent on the summer melting of the winter snows away up on the mountain heights. Although the native doctors get plenty of rewards in both food and cash, it is often made plain to the European doctor that the reward for his services is the merit he wins, no doubt the reason for his leaving his own country and coming to such a far land, unless it be that the unaccount-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

injured, he was given the *coup de grâce* with the business end of a riding-crop.

Horses and men being rather tired, we decided to give them a rest day, which we began by extracting two cataracts and excising a large tumour, following which medicines were dispensed. The sahibs being thus engaged, the servants took the opportunity of having a baking day, so as to substitute bread for the chupattis with which they had now provided us for some days. Baking in this part of the world is an interesting process. First the dough is made with leaven, placed in a covered tin, and put into the sun to ferment, but if there is no sunshine, it is kept warm by covering it with all the bedding of the servants, and wise is the sahib who does not scrutinize this covering too closely, remembering rather that what the eye does not see, the heart does not grieve over. While the dough is rising, the oven must be prepared. The walls of this are made of large dry plaques of cow manure, and the roof of a big slab of the same material. The latter interested us, and we inquired how it was procured. We were told that throughout the whole winter the stables are not cleared out, but the continual stamping of animals and men makes quite a hard floor of manure, which is cut out in large chunks in the spring. But if we wait too long for these explanations, our bread will be sour. The oven itself is now set on fire, and by the time the dough is ready the whole thing is glowing splendidly. The dough in its covered tin is placed inside, and a door of glowing dung closes the oven. The resulting bread is all one can wish! Having cooked the bread, the fire still functions, for on it the servants' Sunday dinner is cooked. A sheep has been killed for the sahibs, and the servants receive the head as their perquisite. The head, with hair, eyes, brain and everything intact, is placed in the fire of manure, the hair burns off, and a meal, fit for a Ladaki king at any rate, emerges.

On again next day over the "Sengela" or "lion pass."

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

as if they might be playing a sheepish musical chairs. Actually they have been tied neck to neck, but with alternate heads looking in opposite directions, resulting in such a mix-up of horns, that it looks as though they would never sort out their own again. They are being milked, which done, they are freed by the simple expedient of pulling the end of the rope, when they come undone like a piece of knitting. Looking around the camp we notice sixteen little fires made of *ayug*, the dry root which is found on the mountains, whence also the dried dung is collected for fuel. Round the nearest fire, on which Ladaki tea is boiling, sit four Ladakis; at the side of each lies his bag of barley-flour. From the folds of their ample coats they pull their silver-lined wooden cups. These are filled, and kept filled from the teapot by means of a wooden ladle. Instead of flavouring it with sugar, they take out of small bags some butter to add to their tea, and there is no need to ask "Have you put butter in my tea?" for the appetizing layer of grease floating on the top loudly proclaims the fact. Having quenched their thirst, each man fills his cup with some raw flour from his bag, adds sufficient tea to make a thick paste, and then eats it with his fingers. You ask me how they can possibly enjoy such coarse fare, and I can only reply that judging from their laughter, they evidently do. Whilst we, shivering with cold, stand watching this dinner party, a Changpa strolls up from the river with a can of water. He seems to find the heat oppressive, for he has slipped his right arm out of his sleeve, leaving arm, shoulder and side of chest bare to the gentle breeze. How complex has become our civilization! The Ladaki needs but some dry flour, a little tea, and, with one rug to cover himself by night, is quite happy. If not, he simply takes off his day clothes, which then serve him as blankets by night. If the cold is really bitter three, four, five, six, or even more, sleep together, giving one another warmth. Presumably they do not say "Last in bed puts out the light," but "Last

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

they themselves took a little barley-and-water soup. Nor was there a cup from which we should have cared to drink, so our supper consisted of one and a half buns each, which the Memsahib had hastily crammed into a pocket. As soon as it was light enough to see, we crept out of that chamber of death into the crisp freshness of the morning air, leaving our ponies and saddlebags to be sent afterwards, and made our way over the hard snow to the nurse's home, which happened fortunately to be in the same village. Here, then, we roused the family from where they slept, all together in the big kitchen-room. The old grandmother was in the cosy corner, cuddling up a little grandchild, and other members had their bedding on the floor round the room, the head of the house and his wife being in an adjacent chamber. The latter was soon blowing the bellows, and the nurse made a hot native soup for the Doctor Memsahib; and how welcome it was with its tiny wormlike rolls of flour and water in the steaming broth. Later on chupattis and butter-tea were prepared for the family breakfast, which was served about nine o'clock, the women clustering near the big stove, the men warming themselves round a fire of sticks kindled on the floor near by, and the head of the home doing a little spinning as he waited for his meal. In this establishment the old grandmother, a widow, had been assigned separate rooms in the house, so that she could live quite independently if she pleased. It is quite usual when the son of the house marries and has reached years of discretion, for his parents to retire if they wish to do so. Then all the possessions are divided into three parts, the parents retaining one, whilst the other two go to the eldest son. When the parents die, he also gets their share. Finally everything really belongs to the heir, but he is responsible for seeing that the other members of the family have sufficient provision.

But before we leave the family group round the fire, let us inquire a little more into the nature of their meals, and some

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

its fine brass bosses, are the gods of the four points of the compass, whose duty it is to guard the temple, and these figures are depicted outside most temples. On the right wall of the portico is a benign old gentleman, the god of luck, who sits under a tree bright with blossom, and holds converse with sundry animals, such as a stag, an elephant, and a peacock. We take a deep breath of fresh air before entering the refectory with its dim atmosphere of musty incense, lighted from above through a central aperture leading to an inner roof, and from the door behind us, and slowly descry its contents between the dark wooden pillars and the faded hanging banners. Opposite to us the *Skushog's* throne is raised above the other seats, upholstered with rather dingy cushions on which he, of course, sits cross-legged, so there is no need for a place for the lower limbs to hang over, but immediately in front of it is a narrow ledge-like table on which are the tools of his office: the bell, the thunderbolt or *dorjhe*, a small tambourine, with a very restricted waist and a long tasselled appendage, as well as the knob on a string which beats on the skins when rattled. Other utensils consist of temple vessels for pouring out water, beer, tea and other libations. Leading up to the throne, on each side of the central aisle, are the seats of the lamas slightly raised above the ground, well-padded and covered with rugs, and in front of them a continuous shelf-like table. A cup or two may be seen left from the last meal; here, in the corner between seat and table, rests a leather bag, and on a plate some butter and tea. A lama tells us the tea has been given out of the bag and placed with the butter ready for the morning meal, which they take, he says, about 9 a.m., though they get up at sunrise.

Near this physical sustenance, on the lamas' seats are a collection of brass bowls leaning against one another upside down, as though to drip after washing. These are, for the oil and wicks to be placed before the altar. The seat of the *Slobdpon* is at the head of the monks' pew on the right of the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 614 582 842 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 765 783 846 Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that [264] [784] people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 896 264 783 784 [241] During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lhabSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 783 765 [264] Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetan. ASJ

The universal food of the people is barley-meal, made from grim; it is either made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a sort of dough and eaten with butter-milk if that can be got. They generally have three meals; one an hour or two after sunrise, of the barley-broth; one at mid-day, of the dough; a third after sunset, of the broth again. In this way they consume some two pounds' weight of meal a day. To the broth they put any addition they can get; sometimes it is vegetable, sometimes meat, and sometimes tea.

Unlike the natives of India, the Ladākhīs are not particular as to their feeding. They obey few restrictions as to what to eat or how to eat it, or as to the method of slaughtering. One way they have of killing an animal for food is to tie up the mouth and let it be suffocated. Another practice of theirs (I am not sure that it is common) is to drain the blood of the animal into their broth and warm all up together.

The drink of the Ladākhīs is *chang*, a light beer made without hops.* They have no good vessels to keep it in, so it usually is sour by the time it is drunk. As I have drunk it, it tasted like a cross between home-brewed beer and farmhouse cider; it is not a bad beverage on a warm day, but these people will enjoy it in the depth of a severe winter. There is also a spirit sometimes made—a whisky, but this is proscribed by law. Through the Maharaja's territories generally the making and the drinking of intoxicating liquors is forbidden †; at one time an order was made that in accordance with this rule the drinking of chang should be put down; but on the representations of the Ladākhīs that it had been the beverage of their nation from time immemorial, and that it would be impossible to endure the cold of their climate without it, they were allowed the malt-liquor; the restriction as to the spirit however remains. Tea is another favourite drink in this country, but the poor people—that is nearly all the population—seldom are able to afford it; it is made in a churn, with butter added.

* For the better brews a plant brought from Baltistān is used in the same way and with somewhat the same effects as are hops in our beer.

† Christians are specially exempted from the operation of this law.